/253 cont./

554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/254 cont./

554 769 775 His functions keep on being carried out by means of intermediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 558 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and downward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

[20 cont.]

*1756 1755 as he is only the spirit's intermediary in the matter of the negotiation between it and the patient and his relatives to free the sick man from its influence, the shaman must respond to all the demands that the spirit has made. If the sick man is cured, the shaman keeps all the gifts that were requested through him by the spirit that caused the sickness and those that his protector [21] spirit claimed for its part in the cure. If the treatment is not successful, it is usual for all gifts to be returned to the patient's relatives, although sometimes this is not done and the shaman takes possession of them, stating that they are sacred, that they belong to the spirits that intervened in the attempt at curing the sick man although this has not been successful.

Shamans state that when they are practicing their curing ceremonies, while they are endeavoring to wrest the patient's soul from its prison, they are carefully observing the sick man to determine whether his cure is possible or not. If it is obvious that it is not, they declare him past hope, after being well assured that the individual cannot be saved and after making sure that everything has been done to effect his cure. They also state that it is quite common when they are engaged in the exercise *1756 of their functions for their spirits to chat freely with them, at 1755 which times they refer to events which are about to happen and 1787 to their own destiny in the other life, in other words, what the shaman will be doing as a spirit once he ultimately dies. It is common to hear a spirit say, while conversing with the shaman in trance, "When you die you will know a country where there are many towns you know not of, crossed by wide, blue rivers."

Before proceeding further we consider it of interest to call attention to these latter words which the shaman claims he hears from his protector spirit, as they represent, in a certain way, the idea of a special heaven for these curers, a notion of life beyond the tomb which we shall see in greater detail later and, above all, the image of that new life; towns...crossed by wide, blue rivers, an ideal as logical as any when one takes into account the geographical situation of La Guajira, a land in which rivers and ravines, or even minor arroyos, are practically unknown due to the winds that dominate the peninsula.

*756 776 787

[25 cont.]

universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necessary to make it clear that all the spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out their functions through others after death. Our statement is confirmed by Professor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

[775] 171 *756 775 776

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 202.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Taulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" -- according to Koch Grünberg -- "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Bororo shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called bari are possessed by bope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

[26 cont.]
colleagues.* On the other hand, the aroettawaraare are mediums chosen by the souls of ancestors and their main function is to serve as intermediaries between the world of the living and that of the dead," according to Colbacchini. (20) [Cited in French.]

20. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 211.

Hubert and Mauss, speaking of magic revelations by the dead among Australian tribes, state as follows: "The simplest manner in which the authors describe this revelation consists in stating that the parents' spirits are those that give magic power to their children. The precision is even greater when the author expressly states, as does Howitt, with respect to the Kulin on the Wimmera River that only young men who have seen their mother's spirit seated on her grave are capable of becoming wizards." (21) And specifically in one of the stories narrated

21. Hubert and Mauss. Op. cit.

to our colleague Chaves in La Guajira with relation to the shaman Umaralá, [27] we find the following statement: "Every afternoon Umaralá set out to walk to the cemetery to visit the grave of his aunt and to light fires to her memory — she having been a very wise shaman — but on one occasion he had a clear vision of his aunt for whom he was grieving, and she said to him: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cloak and my maraca, visit the sick and "shamanize" them, and only thus will you find the true path." (22)

22. Chaves, Micíades. Mitos, legendas, etc. [Myths, Legends, etc.], p. 322.

With respect to the number of each shaman's protector spirits, we can state that Josefina, one of our personal informants, had eight, three male and the rest female. The names by which these spirits were known were the following: benawa,

*756 ●775 776 [27 cont.]
turpirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, uríwatana, waré-
ké-narú, waiwána, and parárijuna, females.

The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurú, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession [755] implies dangers as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the jirairay or wanarú.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like aríjuna (civilizados). They are wanurú that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurú. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurú and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

114 787 Referring to prophecy, Uricoechea in his introduction to Celedón's Guajiro Grammar refutes — we do not know on what authority — the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

114 "Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking
787 tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

[113]

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

*756 With respect to the relations between the shaman and his
●775 protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations
776 between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Barrere: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

*756 Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[31 cont.]

753 755 *756 776 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 766 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 *775 787 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

2: Pineda Giraldo--36 E-6 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

[35 cont.]

*951 P75 787

various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

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Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make certain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[34 cont.]

*756 being a mortal, a man who came into the world like any other; second, his having been designated by the spirits of the dead, and especially by those of other dead shamans, as we have seen in one of the previous sections. We have said that his position is involuntary, because neither of his two natures as a human being or as a shaman has been chosen by him nor can he renounce them. The first requires no explanation, it would be paradoxical. The second we have already seen: the spirit, once having chosen the person in whom he is going to lodge, causes him to overcome — according to Guajiro belief — the first attacks (apparent death), an evident sign of his future function in society. The words of this protector from the other world to the future shaman tell us with complete clarity how impossible it is to renounce this vocation and, for the same reason, how involuntary his position is. "Eat manilla, because if you do not, you will die." It is an imperative, not a suggestion nor a call to the vocation. It is, from that moment, the neat expression of the absolute domination the individual must submit himself to in order to exercise the function of curer magician of his group, a domination that does not cease for a moment and which only disappears at his death, when his spirit, allied to that of the protector, decides to take possession of another person in order to subject that person to its will. [35]

Now we can understand better the role of manilla in acts of magic. "If you do not eat manilla you will be a dead man." The manilla is, in a way, a symbol of the shaman; it is what puts him in contact with the spirits. Without it he will not become a true curer. And without eating it, neither will he himself return to life. The apparent death which the attack which we call a hysterical fit represents will be converted into real death if he does not obey the spirit's order to eat manilla; that is, the individual will not be resuscitated. This also supports the thesis we have been expounding that the shaman is a man of two worlds, since he has really been in the world of spirits during his attack, or revelation.

*756 775 The shaman acts neither by himself nor for himself. All his activities and the performance of his functions are determined by and through the spirits which have deigned to dispense

[35 cont.]

€ 756 their protection to him. When he is performing the ceremonial
775 indispensable for freeing the body and soul of a patient from the clutches of the wanurú, he represents nothing but the role of intermediary between two worlds and especially between two classes of spirits – that of his protector who wishes to save the sick person and that of others now dead who desire above all
[753] that the evil they have caused the person of the sick man should continue until it ends with his death, so that in this way they can avenge an offense received, or simply satisfy some capricious wish of their own, as beings capable – because of their position as inhabitants of another world, a position superior to everything we can imagine in this mortal universe – of doing any harm they wish.

755 This position of intermediary is clearly shown in the cere-
*756 mony of curing. The communication must be made through definite material objects which take on in their turn the character of untouchables: the maraca, the crown, the tassels which contain a representation of goat dung, and the tobacco or manilla, objects which cannot be used by others but only by shamans during their moments of trance or invocation; the solitude to which the curer submits himself during his invocations, with only his patient present, for fear that the protector spirit might disappear and refuse to give aid in the cure which the shaman is trying to effect; his protector spirit's demands for certain objects to satisfy the voracity of harmful spirits or its own, demands which must be complied with to the letter; the ritual chants which relate the different moments of agreement between the harmful spirits and that of the shaman; the sacrifice of an animal determined by the spirit – male goat, sheep, etc. – as recompense for the spirit's favors; and lastly, the expressed prohibition that rests on the shaman not to eat or use the [36] animals or objects that he receives in payment for his cures. All these are facts which clearly indicate that the shaman is no more than an intermediary or an earthly representative of the spirits of good, or even of evil, and above all of the dead shamans who wish to continue exerting their beneficial influence on the group to which they belonged in life.

171 This function of communication with the spirits, annexed
*758 to, and inseparable from, the personality of the medicine man,
787

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
798 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
436 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
437 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
815 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
798 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community [682 might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or 787] some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in 683 the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the 826 crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to *confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself*, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined [411] quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in 411 the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on 435 their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the 775 dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]
when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imśra, or magic arrow.

It will be well to explain again the position of the father in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurśra-pśta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurśra-pśta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imśra (poisoned arrow).'"

The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons. First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[68 cont.]

794 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [68] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 783 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 784 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

751 This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm 775 to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[69 cont.]
of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[72 cont.]

761 have been transformed step by step through the evolutionary
1977 process of thought as it fulfills its stupendous labor towards perfection.

761 Death is not a real death to the Guajiro. Accustomed as
975 he is to interpret sleep as a separation, a liberation of the spirit, the universal soul, from the framework of the body (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine"), death to him is nothing more than a greater and definite liberation of the spirit to go from this world to another — to that of the spirits — unknown and phantomlike but as real to his imagination as his own existence. For this same reason and because of the fear infused in the primitive by these disembodied spirits — which have left their material body and are capable of taking on new and unknown forms, capable of transporting themselves to a distance, capable in fact of deeds unachievable by mortal man — the Indians believe it to be indispensable for their tranquillity to practice a series of ceremonies, rites, to maintain a fixed and constant attitude toward the dead, because these spirits by the physical fact of the separation of the soul from the body possess special potentialities which confer on them the power to harm the living whenever their person has been offended by the violation of any of the norms established in the ceremonial for the dead.

We also have to take into account the fact that for the primitive a dead person is not only absolutely a sacred being — and as such untouchable — but he is also considered a potential enemy. Freud recognizes this when he states: "We know already that the dead are powerful sovereigns; possibly it would surprise us to find out now that they are also considered enemies." (50)

50. Freud. Totem y Tabú [Totem & Taboo], II, 75.

This duality, which we have shown in the previous paragraph, corroborated by the quotation from Professor Freud, will be seen more fully as we progress in this study and consider the different categories of danger that are attributed to the spirits of the dead in accord with the circumstances of their death or the disrespect with which they were treated. [73]

[73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept. The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú, and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the dead – the devil, according to all writers and even to the natives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayá, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

The relation sickness – death – spirit, which will later be the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American

[73 cont.]

groups, as far as we have been able to discover personally or by bibliographical inquiry. To give no more than a small sample of this, let us see [74] two quotations which corroborate our previous statement, but for clarity before doing this we have to recall a little about the place of the magician, sorcerer, medicine man, or shaman in aboriginal communities as an intermediary between two worlds, or as the sole means of communication with the spirits through which he successfully obtains his magic effects. This clarification is necessary because on many occasions the word used for sickness or death might be confused with the word used for shaman, or medicine man, for this very condition.

For example, Mother Laura, referring to the Katío [Catio] Indians (51) says: "Among the many peculiarities which study

> 51. The Katío Indians belong linguistically and culturally to the Chokó group of the Karib [Carib] linguistic family (Rivet, op. cit.). They lived and still live in a great part of the northeast of Antioquia department in the republic of Colombia.

of the customs, usages, and beliefs of the Catío tribe reveals, the most noticeable is jaibanism.

"The etymology of the word jaibaní is as follows: jai = sickness, pana = gathering (derived from capaní, flock or herd). Consequently, this word may be translated: a collection or gathering of sicknesses. The general acceptance is "doctor." (52)

> 52. Montoya, Laura (Rev. Mother). Nociones sobre usos y costumbres de los Catíos en el departamento de Antioquia [Notes on Usages and Customs of the Catío Indians in the Department of Antioquia], p. 148.

This word jaibaní to which Mother Laura refers corresponds to what ethnographically we might denominate medicine man as

[74 cont.]
he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibaná is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits — of the dead — and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibaná and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibaná, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends — enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[75 cont.]

171 doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual
176 one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion.
197 Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primi-
275 tives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

171 Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find
175 that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead
176 person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaioque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaioque — translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca — would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El Idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegoñ and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[76 cont.]

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775 We can say that in La Guajira among the spirits of the dead there are categories determined by capacity to work evil. Spirits in general are indifferent as long as the established norms regarding their treatment are not violated, such as the fulfillment of the post-mortem ceremonial, avoidance of the use of [762] their names, etc. But when the spirit is that of a suicide, then his standing as an author of evil grows, as the fact of his having violated the established social order places him automatically at the margin of the community; he is a social outcast even in the world of the dead, and his spirit does not wander around as the others do but face downward and at ground level; for this reason he is considered an enemy of the community.

773 823 762 A Guajiro legend regarding Katétamána Hill relates that in remote times there was a majayura ("a young woman") who had sexual relations with her father and became pregnant. According to the legend, on finding herself in this condition, she was so ashamed that she wanted to wipe out her social sin by hanging herself, which she did. Mareiwa, the god of the Guajiro, told her that as punishment for her offense he would change her into a hill. For this reason, say the Indians, Katétamána Hill has the shape of a hanged woman. Ever since, concludes the story, Indians frequently hang themselves when any adverse event disturbs their lives.

762 775 As the legend transcribed above will indicate, an Indian commits suicide when he cannot carry out some act which is at variance with the established patterns of his family circle or of society in general. Since he cannot be punished for the violation when alive, he must pay the penalty after his death. It is his spirit which receives and feels the consequences of the social sin he has committed. For this reason the general belief to which we have already alluded exists that the spirit of the suicide always wanders face downward and at ground level in the regions of the dead. [77]

762 768 672 But if the punishment of the suicide cannot be inflicted on the individual himself while alive, it can, on the other hand, be

762 [77 cont.]
783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

762 The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event,
769 is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that
775 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a
764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the
775 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[78 cont.]

751 or another powder, achiote, mixed with tallow or other animal grease of some kind, which prevents the severe sunburn which the strong desert sun can cause.

764 715 The following facts give clearer and more convincing proof of the reality of the dead as beings who pass to another life, to a certain point a material one. When a person dies the relatives usually place by his side at the moment of burial a small portion of chicha in a gourd; they also put in some meat and rum, as indispensable nourishment which he will require during the long journey he has to make. After the burial they place on his grave one of the objects of his personal ownership which had been used by him to satisfy his primary necessities. These objects [78] can be: a night glass (influence of acculturation through civilizado elements) if he is a rich Indian; the jug he used to drink from, or the plate he used for meals. In the case of a woman, in addition to these objects they place a special one, something which she greatly liked and worked with during her life -- for example, her spindle. Furthermore, after having buried the dead person, they light small fires for several nights so that the spirit can find the way it has to travel in its passage to the other world and will not be inconvenienced by losing its way, an inconvenience which might lead to trouble for its relatives.

On the other hand, when the Goajiro Indian has emigrated from his country for various reasons, especially in times of extreme summers when poverty becomes felt in an alarming way, and falls ill on foreign soil, his great concern is the need to return to his native land as soon as possible in order to die there and be buried in the cemetery where the remains of the ancestors of his family group lie. This concern, which could be interpreted romantically as a sentimental one, a simple manifestation of homesickness, has another explanation, more sociological and conscious, related to life beyond the tomb. This is that the Goajiro, whatever his social or family condition may be, is convinced that after his death he will have to travel a long way

[79 cont.]

764 before arriving at the abode of the spirits, a route that would be
775 most difficult, practically impossible, to follow if he had to set off from some place that was not the special cemetery of his group; and above all he fears that all the indispensable ceremonies required for the success of his post-mortem travels may not be complied with.

775 These facts show us their belief in the active influence, the continuity of life of the individual after his physical death in a spiritual form. It is precisely this belief in life beyond the grave which shapes, directs, and controls the activities in the life of the Guajiro in innumerable circumstances, as we have previously noted. To corroborate this, we single out some of this behavior which is directly connected with the spirit of the dead.

Return of the dead. One of the stories we obtained during the expedition to La Guajira was recounted by the same informant who supplied the data about the sacrifice of children in the making of magic arrows; she stated that when she was a little girl she went one morning with her sister, also small like herself, to look for some [80] burros that had been lost. They searched all through the day without finding them and at last decided to take the road back home. It was already late when the children turned their steps toward their home, from which they had traveled a considerable distance. The sun was already setting when in a small stream bordering on the forest they saw their grandmother, who had died some time previously. According to the story, the old lady was bathing and was accompanied by a boy. The girls, in order to find out if it really was their dead grandmother, asked her several questions to which she did not reply, an evident sign that it was her spirit that had recovered
775 its bodily form. (One can infer from this part of the story a
787 characteristic of the spirits of the dead, which is their inability to communicate directly with living people by speech; these communications only occur in the Indian's dreams when his spirit, also freed from his body, can take advantage of this condition.) The girls returned home and asked why they had seen their grandmother if she was dead. The reply they got was

[80 cont.]
775 787 the following: "Because there are going to be more deaths in the house."

In this story we can appreciate three very clear facts in relation to the dead: 1) that these can return to the bodily form they had when living ; 2) that their presence is an omen of coming misfortune as it announces the death of some member of the family, especially of the closest relatives; 3) that, as we have already noted, the spirit is incapable of communicating with the living by word of mouth.

151 775 787 The blind belief that the Guajiro have in the apparition of the dead in bodily form is due, according to the investigations that we were able to make in part, to a psychological phenomenon: It is clearly seen in La Guajira, and the natives so recognize it, that people do not want to look at a dead person's face. This is owing to the fact that this face will be engraved very deeply on their memory, to the point that when the individual who has looked at it is traveling by road at night, or when it is getting dark, or when he is alone at night in his dwelling and worried, on opening his eyes he will clearly see the dead man in the form he had when alive. We therefore believe that what happens in this case is that the individual is obsessed with and has firmly strongly impressed on his mind the decomposing face of the dead person that, as we have said, stays strongly impressed on his memory through this same act. This observation of ours does not apply exclusively to Guajiro [171] Indians or to other primitives. It is also very common among the town people of practically all the regions of Colombia which we have visited. The psychic phenomenon of obsession and then the almost perfect reconstruction of the image engraved on the memory is a common occurrence among them. But if [81] we add to this the Guajiro's collection of beliefs related to the dead and the fear of the apparition of spirits, which are always harbingers of misfortune (death, sickness, misfortune in general), we can understand how a person so obsessed reconstructs in his nervous state the previously impressed image and, in his imagination, gives it a body. The effects of fear are then translated into a seemingly real image of the dead person, and the

[81 cont.]

158 individual is not capable of distinguishing between the merely
•775 fictitious, the imaginary and the real. To him, the image so
787 faithfully rebuilt in his imagination is as real as the living image of the deceased. The explanation of the phenomenon, then, according to his mentality, is that the dead man has appeared before him for some reason or other.

775 This fact is complicated in addition by the belief that every dead person "retraces his steps," that is, he treads again all the paths he traveled during his life; he returns to places where he had been at different times; this is why he is "felt" very often. Many times the individual feels the presence of the dead, even if he does not see it. This Guajiro belief is
[171 also found to be very prevalent in all Colombian folklore. The
536] phenomenon that the Colombian people call "retracing his steps" corresponds exactly to the Guajiro version which we have just transcribed. Of course, according to popular legends, the dead "retrace their steps" when they are dying or a few
[787] moments or even days before their death. To hear strange noises without apparent logical explanation, to see shadows, etc., are for the people evident sign that one of their relatives or friends, or even some person who in the past has lived in these parts, is dying or will die from one moment to the next. For the same reason they avoid walking alone along certain places when they know that someone who has lived there is close to death's door.

Degrees of danger in spirits. The Guajiro murderer suffers
682 a double punishment: first, the claim for compensation payment
775 for blood presented by the dead man's relatives, which involves his own death if he does not pay the sum agreed on; and second, the constant presence of the dead man's spirit, which never leaves him. For this reason, the murderer cannot enter a home where there are small children because the spirit of the dead man follows him, will climb over them, squeeze them, and make them
[753] cry. If the children are sick, the murderer's presence is even more dangerous because the spirit will rapidly cause their death. If they are well they usually become ill. [82]

The death of a fellow being becomes a tremendous ob-
[753] session with the Guajiro; the murderer is convinced that the dead man's spirit follows him everywhere. When he is ill he has

[82 cont.]

682 nightmares and dreams, possibly in the delirium of fever, so
775 that the spirit creeps around him and painfully crushes his chest.
783 It pursues him insistently, which provokes a grave crisis in ill-
ness. The spirit then takes advantage of his weak state to aggra-
vate his sickness. Self-confession is one of the most important
social consequences of this state of mind as, due to the obsession
682 with the presence of the spirit, every time a murderer has been
626 able to conceal the secret of the murder and in consequence has
so far escaped the compensation payment for blood, he loses his
equanimity during sickness and will then talk freely about his
crime. In the delirium of fever, haunted by the anguish caused
by the supposed weight of the spirit of the murdered man on his
chest, he raves about all the details of his crime. This confes-
sion, according to his belief, does bring him some relief as in a
certain manner it admits the dead man's vengeance and in con-
sequence it gives some peace to the criminal as well as rest to
the offended spirit.

775 The spirits of those who have died violent deaths fall, so
to speak, within a class of more highly dangerous spirits than
those that die from natural causes. They represent, we should
say, the middle point between these latter spirits and those of
[964] suicides. This is certain to such a point that the house in which
a native has been killed is immediately vacated, because his
spirit will live in that house and it will only leave it on occasions
when it goes to torment the murderer. A Goajiro Indian will
never pass by the place between sunset and dawn because he is
convinced that every detail of the scene of the tragedy is con-
tinually being repeated in that place; the insults are heard again,
the shots or whir of arrows, the sighs and groans of agony, just
as were heard on the day of the tragedy. In addition the spirit
appears in the shape of a flame that pursues whoever may be
near the house; or it may also appear in the form of any animal
whatsoever, a bird, for example.

But the highest degree of danger occurs when the spirit of
the murdered Indian is face to face with his murderer. This is a
wounded spirit and full of desire for vengeance to such a point
that the family of the murderer, after having fulfilled the

[82 cont.]

formalities agreed upon with the victim's family, find that it imposes on them a sort of punishment, a rhythm of life totally different from that to which they were normally accustomed and which can be interpreted in two ways: (a) as a purification rite; (b) as a change of personality, in order to avoid the mortifying presence of the spirit face to face with the murderer. [83] To us the second interpretation appears clearer and more acceptable as we do not know of any other rites of purification in La Guajira which can show reason for the first assumption.

A repentant murderer, according to the statement collected by our colleague and expedition companion, Licentiate Milciades Chaves Ch., is punished by his own will as well as by the decision of his family through norms imposed by his uncles and aunts. He voluntarily submits to them so as not to commit a second time the same delict which constituted his own ruin and that of his family, who like himself are liable to become victims of the retaliation of the murdered man's relatives in revenge for his murder. This punishment is executed in the following way:

1) The murderer must spend five or six days hiding in the selva or some distant mountain.

2) He must take no solid food. He is only allowed to take hot drinks or very thin mazamorra (corn chicha), and water.

3) He must not speak to anyone and must be on the alert all the time, with his rifle ready to defend himself from his enemies.

4) He must disguise himself: cut his hair, wear special belts and fringes, and wear a robe, black in color. (This robe is so small and short that it barely covers the top part of his body.)

5) In the forest he must sleep on the ground at night. Above all, he should not sleep face upward because the soul of his victim may climb into his mouth and press on his chest, even to the extent of killing him by asphyxia. He may only return to his home for a short time to rest in a hammock, but this must be so small that he cannot lie comfortably on it, and due to this inconvenience he is unable to sleep for long.

6) He must eat and sleep very little and be continually alert, having for his only companion a dog, whose senses will warn him of the approach of danger.

[83 cont.]
warn him of the approach of danger.

7) He must abstain from all business and renounce friendships for some years, avoid social gatherings, especially those of a festive or drinking type.

8) In the case that the two family groups -- that of the murderer and that of his victim -- do not come to an agreement he, the murderer, must leave the country of his own free will and go to some distant place.

If the murderer should not comply with the requisites indicated, he can be certain that the spirit of his victim will deliver him defenseless into [84] the hands of his enemies, who will immediately kill him to satisfy their vengeance.

We can clearly see two essential things that stand out from these facts: (a) that the murderer, by the social crime he has committed, places himself automatically in the condition of an outcast, one impure, or more correctly, a contaminated, dangerous being. For this reason he becomes an individual who must be set apart from the community. (b) The murderer's family, at the same time that it provides him with the means for going away, carrying out one of its main functions, mutual assistance among its members, takes care that the outcast does not fall an easy prey to his victim's spirit. His retirement from his habitual haunts, from his acquaintances, and particularly from his own relatives; his disguise by cutting his hair and wearing certain articles of clothing; his not sleeping in a hammock; his avoiding his face being seen (sleeping face down); his not mixing with friends in business and in social gatherings; and finally, his going away a long distance from his clan, all demonstrate clearly to us that what the murderer is endeavoring to do -- consciously or unconsciously -- is to effect a total change of personality, we should almost say that he tries to convert himself into another hypothetical person, unrecognizable especially to the spirit of the person he has killed, to avoid its discovering him and taking its revenge on his body.

The clearest demonstration that the change of personality is made to mislead the murdered man is the fact that only when it is found impossible to reach an agreement between the two

[84 cont.]

family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim — is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "... from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

[86 cont.]

766 751 In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other [775] dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwá, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement [775 842] that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental processes of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born – which implicates one of her principal functions: conception – dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

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858 We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-já, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúsenaik Yolujá)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is not, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[146 cont.]

If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[147 cont.]

and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law -- rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. -- are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor -- wanurú -- who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully. If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

[148 cont.]

4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arîjuna (civilizado), and an Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some corn seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujé, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujé, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits -- benevolent and malevolent -- are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[155 cont.]
182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influ-
[177] ence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy
[654] for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

751 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
771 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
881 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly
[761] the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
•775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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CHAPTER 9

A Wake

ONE day we received an invitation to a rancho owned by well-to-do people. We knew them, but had not been there before. The messenger bade us welcome and told us that the old man there had gone. Francisco crossed himself and said that an old man, an uncle, had died and that there was to be a funeral feast. What the dead man's name was could not be mentioned. We wanted to witness a burial, so we accepted gratefully and set off at once with camera and guns—Francisco having told us that one fired off guns at the feast.

There were a lot of people already there when we arrived. Members of the family were often informed when illness took a dangerous turn and so arrived while the patient was still alive. On this occcasion they had already laid the dead man out. He had been washed: his best ornaments had been put on him and he had been wrapped in the cloths which the women weave specially for this purpose. After death a woman is painted to make her as lovely as possible, but not a man. The dead person is always left alone for a while so that his soul can go round a last time and take farewell of the place. Having been shrouded, the old man had been laid in the fresh hide of a newly slaughtered bullock and placed in a hammock strung between two poles under a temporary roof covered with grass.

Numbers of people were standing round the dead man's last resting place, while his closest relatives sat in hammocks strung between other poles. All kept their faces covered, either by pulling their cloaks up over them or by draping clothes over their heads. Some were merely clasping their

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £10-£15. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever. The Guajiro word for illness, [illegible], is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer everywhere and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appearing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

7:Bollnder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain from all association with his friends and keep away from feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept muttering imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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If cattle, these are tethered beside the hut where the seance is being held; if ornaments they are handed to the pische.

If the pische does not receive what he demands—or rather what the spirit demands—attacks compel him to stop treatment. If the patient recovers, the pische retains the gifts on behalf of the spirit; but if the patient dies, then he is not supposed to get anything. Sometimes, however, he apparently keeps his fee on various pretexts—threats that the spirit might be angry, etc.

The pische observes his patient closely during treatment. An experienced medicine man will perhaps see that the patient has scarcely any hope of recovery and will pronounce him doomed.

During these seances the spirits often speak with the pische about the life to come. They tell him that in another existence he will come to a land with many villages that he has never seen before, in a countryside well watered by blue rivers—a glorious prospect from the Guajiro point of view. It seems that the spirits are here speaking of the pisches' special heaven. Ordinary Indians, perhaps, have to be content with a less well-watered paradise. If the patient recovers, the pische orders a chichamaya dance. The maize beer for this is prepared either by chewing or by adding raw sugar, *panela*. Those taking part stream in as soon as the drum, the only instrument, begins to sound. Nobody is invited; people just come as they wish. In the houses of the well-to-do they will be regaled with beef, one or more cattle being slaughtered for this. All will be in their finery. The dance will last one day or more, as the pische orders. The pische then washes his patient, who must still keep indoors.

When a child falls ill, the parents will often consult some neighbour who dabbles in fortune-telling to find out what the cause is. It will be cheaper to let her try, than at once to call in a professional sooth-sayer or a pische. The old woman will often burn the child with a red-hot needle or arrow-head, which in certain abnormal mental states, perhaps could provide a beneficial shock. The woman will often

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jinarai 756
Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are 776
many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that 756
when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to 776
the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the 789
brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maracs and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the 789
piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and 821
arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary [775]
spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet 756
and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital 934
intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during [633]
coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous 751
and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she 852

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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ought not to have children. The spirits can show her various magical tricks to avoid this, but if she should become pregnant, she can count on the spirit's help in labour. Not even the male piache is allowed to partake of love more than fleetingly, almost casually. There must be no real affection involved.

A woman piache cannot practice during menstruation. No piache may eat meat from animals he has received in payment for his services. These, like other gifts, he does not enjoy, but he can give them to his sons. Nor is he allowed to eat meat from animals sacrificed at funerals or such feasts. While invoking or conjuring spirits he should restrict his diet to maize gruel.

A piache can cure all, but not himself. Sometimes, perhaps, a sympathetic spirit may give him a little advice, which will always help; but if he falls seriously ill, he summons a colleague, who performs the usual sorcery. When a piache dies, his rattle, diadem and other attributes are chopped up and buried in some remote and secret place. The dead piache's soul roams like those of all mortals and often clings to the burial place, but it is never alone, being always in company with its guardian spirit. Both can later help a new piache.

The medicine man is thus called to his profession by revelation and no attention is paid to sex, social position or age. Women have been magicians in Guajira from of old, as is shown by their myths. The piache belongs to two worlds: those of man and of the spirits. He has not chosen to belong to them and must continue in both. He is the intermediary between these two worlds, but nowadays his influence is dwindling. As civilization penetrates the peninsula, the part he plays is becoming less and less important.

The first really great piache was Umaralá, of whom the Indians relate the following:

In the olden days there were plenty of piaches who took big fees, but did little. Umaralá made his cures with secret remedies and with songs accompanied on his maraca rattle. He lost his mother early, but was adopted as her own by his maternal aunt, who also considered all her possessions his.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775 ●
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769
offense to mention a dead person by name. 351

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

Feasts and dances.—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 576
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 734
pay for healing salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Wenton (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 542
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, 535
danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and lead off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

Musical instruments.—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 539
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sharkskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

Narcotics and stimulants.—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another